bush; then it begins to rain. — Nyadōke used to dig holes for catching elephants, and the elephants tumbled into the holes. Thus the Nubians were satisfied, he continued to be a good king.

40. King Dokot.

Rit Dǫ́kɔ̱t ká è mɔ̱́nǫ́, mɔ́ŋ2 fōte Dɔn̈, ka ɟɔ̱l yi Dɔn̈, Dɔn̈ ti ríná mál wiy kit. Ka e ko: bɨ́h, dɛ Dɔn̈ a ɟɔ̱ĺí yán, y tich èdí? É rei (rei) wá tàch! Ka tày rêi, ka e ko: yey kit! Ka kit e yèch, ka ɟɔgɔ kɨ́né fen. A māgi Dɔn̈, a kɔ́lí gɔn, a gɛ́ri gɔ pārɨ́, gɔ lɔgɔ̀ bánɨ́; a chāgɛ́ níne fān gni gɔ Aɟɔkɔn̈.

A kɔ́lɛ́ mɔ̱r, a nwan gɔ bwónǫ́, ka bwonǫ mágɛ́, kɔ́lí gɔn, a lɔgɔ bánɨ́, a gɛ́rí pach, gɔn Awarejwɔk. Ka Chólɔ̀ kōbɔ kine: a rāne nǫ, a rich mɔ̱n̈? A ko kine: bɨ́h! Kine: Chól, bɛ́nɛ́ kwɔ̱pí ànàn? A kwaṅ mɔ̱r, a lɛ̱n̈ gɔ̀ nàm, ka Chɔlɔ e wan kí yù màr ki bɛ̄le pārɨ́.

Pay mɛ̱kɔ chwɔlá Oṅ̄ɛ̱gɔ̀, ka Chɔl ní kɛ̱tɔ̀ ki jur, ka Chɔle ti chyɛ̱tì. Ka rāp ɛ rɔ́n̈, Chól dɛ chyɛ̱tɔ; a rɔn̈ Akwɔt. Ka Akwɔt e mɛ́ŋ́; ka lén chyɛ̱tè, ka e bɛ̱nɔ̀, ka e ko: bɨ́h, wá gɛ̱gɔ̀ dí? A bɛ̱nɨ́ bɔl Oṅ̄ɛ̱gɔ́, a chɔ́nɨ́ bāne Dɔ́kɔ̱t, a pyeje gin kine: mɔ̱r e lɛ̱nè kɛ́n? A kōbi jal mɛ̱kɔ kine: y tich edí? Kine: y dwái nâm! Kine: bɨ́h, Akwɔ́t, dɛ́ bá gɛ́n? yi ky wane kɛjɛ? A kōbi kine: yá bà wán! Kine: nɔ̀! A keau yūt, a keau gɛn. A kɔ̱l ɟɔk, a mak ɟeaṅ Oṅ̄ɛ̱gɔ, a kɔ̱l ɟeaṅ mɛ̱kɔ, a māgí Wajwɔk, a kɔ̱l ɟeaṅ mɛ̱ko, a māge yi Aɟɔkɔn̈, a kɔ̱l ɟeaṅ mɛ̱kɔ, a kɛ̱ti tɛ̱rɔ gut, a lɔ̱mí, a chwɔ́p ɟèaṅ. A kɛ̱ti Akwɔt fén, a rɔn̈ ta pí, ká é chwɔ́nɔ̀. Ka Chɔlɔ kōbɔ kine: rit tɔ̱k, ba bi kɛ̱tɛ! Ka chaṅ wapɔ mal, chaṅ e kɛ̱chɔ̀, ka rit bɛ̱nɔ, ka mɔr kɔ́lɛ́ ki ta pi. A kōbi kine: tìn lén! A kɛ̱ti lén, a mɔ́ṅ Dinjɔl, a nágɛ́, a maṅ nwɔle, ka ɟɔk e kōl ki mɔ́né. A mɔ́na Agɛ̱r, a mɔ́ní Chai, a māk pen bɛ̱nè, a kōbi Chólɔ̀ kine: a rāne nǫ, a chɔ̱gɔ̀ kípà lén? A ko: bɨ́h, kwɔ́pí, yina Chólɔ̀! A kwaṅ mɔ̱r, a lɛ̱n̈ gɔ̀ nàm.

King Dokot went out to conquer, he went conquering into the Nubian country. But he failed to defeat the Nubians, because they used to escape upon their mountain. He said, "Why, the Nubians are too much for me! What shall I do? Well (he says to his people), make a pot ring!"[1] And a pot ring was made. Then he said, "Carry the mountain away!" So the mountain was carried away and put on the ground upside down. In this way he conquered the Nubians, he brought them (into the Shilluk country), he built them a village, and they became his subjects.[2] He called the name of this village Adǫkǫng.

He brought the silver pot[3] and swung it against (the army of) the strangers; thus he conquered the strangers, he brought them to his country, and they became his subjects; he built them a village, this is the village Awarejwǫk.

But the Shilluks said, "What a king is this, that he is always conquering?"[4]

[1] a ring of grass, which is laid on the head for carrying water pots. The mountain was carried away like a water pot.

[2] This shows how Nubian colonies came into the Shilluk country.

[3] This pot is said to be an old heirloom, it was to be filled with "holy water" *(pi jwok)*, which was used for different religious rites. The possession of this pot was supposed to give fortune and victory.

[4] The Shilluks were tired of waging war, or they were jealous of the victories of the king.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or disposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

13: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

follows for a little distance rattling the gourd. The spoon representing the traveller remains with the medicine man, but is not in the water. 756 789

In sickness the outcome may be foretold by the gourd. Spoons representing different people are thrown on the gourd. If the spoon for the patient rebounds, and falls on the spoon for God it is a good omen as he will recover. The same test is made to determine the outcome of a fight. If the spoon of the suppliant falls on the spoon of the enemy, it is a sign that the adversary will be overcome. 755 756 787

On payment of a cow a medicine man will make a small cow rope, which is to be worn on the arm. The rope is supposed to tie the hands of all enemies, by a magical bond.

The medicine man makes a little circlet of grass to put on the head of a person. It is made like the little circlet they wear when carrying a load on their heads to protect their heads. The witch doctor then spits on the circlet, and gives it to the man for whom it was made. He is told to guard it well for in case it is lost he will die, but while he has it he will always have good fortune. He sometimes pays as much as a cow for the bit of grass. 756 777 789 [482]

When the evil eye has been cast on a man and "his spirit has left him", the medicine man undertakes to restore his spirit. One way to do that is to take a certain kind of grass, and rub it on the chest of the patient. He then spits on his hands, and rolls the grass in his hands. The grass is then dipped in water, and the water is sprinkled on the patient. The ashes from the dung of a medicine man's cow may also be rubbed on his chest. 755 756

Unlike the evil medicine men, who work almost entirely at night, the good medicine men may work in the daylight, though even they work frequently at night, but their favourite time seems to be just before sunrise, and just after sunset. Frequently when a fight is imminent, and the men are sleeping together so as to be ready for a night attack, the medicine man will leap up and shout that power has come on him, and he insists that the people get up, and permit him to work over them. 756

The medicine man strives to be spectacular in his work, and often he tries to visualise the fate of his victims. For example,

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 on their heads. I recognised them as Kwa Nyikwom going back to Akurwa. Their return had been hastened by the early rain.

778 643 535 Fashoda had the party spirit, particularly the *reth*. He at once led me to the centre of Fashoda and I sat down in the shade of a cattle byre to be inconspicuous, for something was about to happen. Nyikang, Dak and Cal were all packed up and ready to go to Akurwa. They were in fact all three standing outside Aturwic. Everyone was dancing and singing.

The *reth* went up the mound and spoke to the people carrying Nyikang. Suddenly Dak and Cal followed by Nyikang came down from the mound and made a bee-line for me.

They rushed to where I was sitting and started dancing at me two paces away. The *reth* was dancing with them. They continued dancing till I gave them the token small piece of grass, which represented a bull, which I would give them at Kodok. They then went on, and did the same to any of the chiefs they found at Fashoda. The chief of Lul knew the honour would cost him a bull, and so he stayed discreetly in his house.

When Nyikang had thus gathered what he wanted for the journey home, they all danced round and round for an hour or more with the *reth* beside them. Then they became more solemn and as a final gesture they stood the *reth* under the folds of Nyikang's wrappings and sang the songs of Nyikang. The casting of the mantle of [777] Nyikang over the new *reth* was to bring him back luck. Nyikang, Dak, 643 the *reth* and the *reth's jal tyel kwom*, his chamberlain, were in the middle 778 of the small throng. The Ororo woman, who had enticed him away from *nyakwer* at the time of the installation, and some of the *reth's* sisters, were sitting around in front. I was about 10 paces away. [787] A small girl by my side swooned, and was possessed by Nyikang— [793] when she grew up, she would have charge of one of his shrines.

Then at last the party formed up and dashed off at a trot, on their way. The *reth* escorted them about 200 yards, and then came back. "Come and have a bowl of beer," he said "because it is hot."

23: Paul G-5 (ca. 1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

NOTES

THE MAR OF THE SHILLUK

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IT is related in Shilluk legend that when Nyidwai, the sister of Nyikang, the divine founder of the Shilluk royal line, married a chief of the Nuba the bridegroom presented Nyikang with a silver engraved stool and a mysterious object of great supernatural powers known as the *Mar*.

It has been described variously as a crystal, as a stone having form but no weight, and as a pot containing magic water, but as it is some two hundred and fifty years since it was last seen, accurate description is hardly to be expected.

So long as the *Mar* was in Shilluk hands the tribe was great and powerful: cattle increased, there was always enough to eat, and the tribe was invincible in war. In the reign of *Reth* Dokot (A.D. 1670-90), however, even the warrior Shilluk had had their fill of battle and bloodshed, so that they finally refused to accompany that warlike but uneven-tempered ruler on yet another expedition against their neighbours, complaining with reason that his continual campaigns allowed them no time to gather in their harvests and look after their families.

This so incensed the *Reth* that in a fit of pique he threw the *Mar* into the Nile, whence it has never been recovered. The Shilluk like to consider that with it went the luck of the tribe, and that they have never been happy or prosperous since.

The object of this note is to suggest that the *Mar* may in fact have been an emerald, a peridot, an olivine, or some such similar stone. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Pizarro conquered Peru, the only emerald mines known to the world were those in the eastern deserts of Egypt and the Sudan, the most famous being that at J. Zabara, near the coast not far north of the ancient port of Bernice.

Quatremere, quoting from Masudi's description of the mines in *Muruj al Dhahab*, states that the emeralds mined there were of four qualities.[1] The poorest quality, known as *Asam*, was brittle, of bad colour, and little value. A less inferior type was traded in Egyptian markets to buyers from the west, and yet finer stones, called *Al Bahri*, were much in demand by the "Kings of the Sea," from Hindustan, China and the Hadramaut. The finest specimens

[1] *Memoires Geographiques et Historiques sur l'Egypte.* See also Floyer: *Etudes sur le Nord Erbai.*

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is